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From Adair's account it will be seen that killing and scalping had a religious as well as a social basis, the former being the necessity the people felt themselves under—in this respect like the ancient Greeks—of placating the souls of the dead. There is every reason to think that ancient Creek belief was practically the same, but this side of the institution appears to have died first, the social advancement to be won through scalps being a more persistent motive.

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In the most ancient times stockades, in which natural features were taken advantage of and which sometimes had moats, played a great part in warfare, especially in regions often harried by war parties. It is significant that the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition do not mention such structures until they reached the tribes near Tennessee River—i. e., the frontiers of the Muskogean peoples toward the north.⁴⁴ In this quarter they were probably subject to incursions of Cherokee, Iroquois, and Shawnee and other Algonkian peoples. Stockades were again found along Alabama River, and from thence to the Mississippi—i. e., on the western Creek boundary. Ulibahali and a deserted town near it were stockaded, also Mabila, Chickasaw, and Alibamo.⁴⁵ The following description of a stockade is given by Ranjel:

"Three days march southeast of Tuasi (Tawasa) and two days before they came to Talisi (Tulsa) the Spaniards "came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong."⁴⁶

Similar to this is Elvas's account of the stockade of Ulibahali. "The fence," he says, "which was like that to other towns seen afterwards, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles of the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loopholes for archery."⁴⁷

Methods of constructing fences of this character were well known throughout the Southeast, and Le Moyne gives what purports to be a picture of one seen in Florida, though it appears to be utterly unreliable.⁴⁸

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When De Soto and his companions entered the temple, or rather osuary, of Talimeco they found there "breastplates like corselets

⁴⁴ Bourne, *Narr. of De Soto*, vol. II, pp. 15, 108.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 85, 90, 104, 109; vol. II, pp. 18, 24, 115, 123, 125, 126.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 115.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 85.

⁴⁸ This description is given in Bulletin 73, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, pp. 379-380. Cf. also Bulletin 43, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, pp. 123-124.

772 it is probable that they considered its waxing and waning either as a successive birth and death of entirely distinct bodies or as a wasting away and regrowth of one and the same. Another idea is suggested by Bartram in a footnote: "I have observed the young fellows very merry and jocose, at the appearance of the new moon, saying, how ashamed she looks under the veil, since sleeping with the sun these two or three nights, she is ashamed to show her face, &c."¹² In this connection might be quoted a speech which Pope states was delivered by an old doctor to the Coweta, Kasihta, and Broken Arrow people, after a very wet season, in which he says that the moon "had covered her face with a bear-skin" and concealed the stars with the tails of numerous beaver.¹³ These declarations sound genuine though there is abundant evidence of "reading in" in parts of this speech. The moon was supposed to be inhabited by a man and a dog. Eakins, who makes this statement, also refers to a native idea that it is "a hot substance."¹⁴ This smacks of white acculturation.

The rainbow was believed to be a great snake called Oskin-tatcā, "cutter off of the rain," its connection with clearing weather being well understood. "The old people knew," says Tuggle, "when they saw 'O-see-kee-er-tah-cher' that the rain would stop and that enough rain would never fall to drown the earth." He adds the important information that the rainbow cut off the rain by resting its two ends "on great springs of water." The Natchez call it *et gwāht*, "house neck." People spoke of running past it.

They believed in inhabited worlds—i. e., planes, both below and above that on which we dwell. Tuggle says:

"The earth is a very small island. . . . Indians live [on this and] also in the world under the earth. The third world is the sky world. The people of 'Esar-kee-tum-me-see' the Source of Life, the Life Controller, live in the sky world."

"Some say people (Indians) came down from the sky world, others say that they sprang from the earth, the soil, and hence the earth is man's mother and therefore sacred, and man cannot sell his own mother."

775 Tukabahchēe miko told General Hitchcock that there are people living in the water and under the ground as well as upon the ground, and that the old people told him they had heard the drum [to accompany their dances].¹⁵ Eakins heard of a succession of inhabited planes underneath ours.¹⁶ On the other hand no one seems to have mentioned a belief in more than one world above. This world above was thought to be the realm of departed souls as well as the dwelling place of many supernatural beings. The latter were considered benef-

¹² Bartram, *Travels*, p. 496.

¹³ Pope, *Tour*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Hitchcock, *Ms. notes*.

¹⁶ Eakins in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 260.

icent and are said by Adair to have been called by the Chickasaw "Hottuk Ishtohollo" (Háták ishtë holo, holy great men) or "Nana Ishtohollo" (Nana ishtë holo, hoity great persons). With them he contrasts the "Hottuk ookproose (Háták okpulosi), or "Nana ookproose (Nana okpulosi)," "very bad men," or "very bad people," who, he says, were supposed to inhabit the dark regions of the west.¹⁷ While Adair and other writers were likely to have interpreted Indian beliefs in the light of Christian teachings I believe this statement to be in the main correct. Swan mentions a good and bad region to which the souls of the dead go, and he says that a good spirit was over the one and an evil spirit—*isti fátcasigo*, "person not good"—over the other.¹⁸ This has a still stronger appearance of Christian influence, and, as I do not find the bad ruling spirit spoken of again by other writers, it may be doubted whether there was such a conception.

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THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Unlike the case of the bad spirit, a great good spirit ruling in the world above is mentioned by all early writers yet it is a question whether this was a native conception or not; the ease with which this spirit could be identified with the Christian deity and the fact that it was so identified in later times render the aboriginal character of the entire conception somewhat doubtful. The older Creeks assert that the name by which this being is now generally known, *Hisagita imisi*—now abbreviated to *Hisagita misi*—"the breath holder," is not the original term, but came in use after contact with white people. In explanation of the name it should be said that when an official was sent out in charge of a body of men at the time of the busk he was called an *imisi*, or "holder," because he held the body of men together. According to one informant the old name for God was *Puyáfiktea lákát*, "the great spirit," but this man was a Baptist preacher and I believe the idea originated with the white people. Jackson Lewis, one of my best native informants, said that he recollected very well when the old people instead of calling the deity *Isagita imisi* used the term *Ibofanaga* (or *Ibofanga*), which means "the one above us." Nevertheless, as we find the name *Hisagita imisi* used by Adair¹⁹ and all those of his contemporaries who enter deeply into the subject of Creek religion, we must assume that it is at least as ancient as the other term. What Lewis had in mind is probably indicated by another statement of his that in order not to use the term "Master of Breath," which was a very sacred name, directly, people often spoke of "the ones over and above us." The plural form in use here

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¹⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 26.

¹⁸ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, pp. 369-370; Hitchcock (Ms. notes) reports a similar belief.

¹⁹ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

778 in the families of the town, destructive wind storms, and various other sinister phenomena would occur. So, when one was asked why they did not take the plates out and wash and brighten them up as was the early practice, the answer came promptly, 'Because there is none competent.' They must neither be handled nor touched by water lest great evils result. Moreover, they seem to speak of them with care and caution, closely bordering on fear, lest some evil befall them as a punishment for having spoken too freely of such sacred objects."

But some of these plates are now reported to be broken and parts lost, which is not to be wondered at, as for a long time they were kept in a box back of the miko's bed, along with the atasa carried by the women, exposed to any inquisitive passer-by not overblessed with scruples. In 1914, however, they were still held in the greatest esteem and fear by the leading Tukabahchee. -The chief of the town at that time said he could never handle them without becoming sick, and when I drew outlines of the plates from my memory of Adair's figures he recommended that I tear them up and throw them away or ill would certainly befall me before I got home. The continued handling is supposed to drive one crazy. If some of these are brass, as stated by Adair and conceded by subsequent writers who have had a chance to examine the plates, the European origin of at least a portion of them is assured, and it is plainly indicated also by the letters, if they have been correctly copied. Barent Dubois, mentioned above in the quotation from Pickett, who is said by him to have "long lived among the Tookabatchas," believed that these plates owed their origin to De Soto and his companions.⁷¹ There can be little reasonable doubt that they are of Spanish origin, but, as the Shawnee and "Kaskinampos"⁷² were trading at St. Augustine in the latter part of the seventeenth century it is equally possible that they were obtained there at that period. They share with certain objects among the Plains tribes in a veneration bestowed upon European articles when they first made their appearance, and which they would certainly have failed to elicit at a later time after that familiarity had developed that "breeds contempt."

THE FATE OF SOULS

775 According to Adair the good spirits of the world above attend and
776 favor the virtuous while the bad spirits in the west accompany and have power over the vicious,⁷³ but this probably gives a somewhat distorted view of the actual native belief. It is probable that the good spirits of which he speaks included most of those who became human helpers, whether in the sky or in other parts of the universe,

⁷¹ Pickett, *Hist. Ala.*, p. 84. ⁷² See Bull. 73, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, p. 214. ⁷³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 36.

while the bad spirits were the ghosts of the dead, or at any rate spirits associated with the western world through which the soul first passed. This is suggested by what he states immediately afterwards. "On which account, when any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [i. e., the evil spirits of the west]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed places, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise."⁷⁴ The good spirits could be attached to individuals somewhat like the personal manitous of the Algonkian tribes. This is also made evident in the case of the Chickasaw by Adair, who says: "Several warriors have told me, that their *Nana Ishtohoollo*, 'concomitant holy spirits,' or angels, have forewarned them, as by intuition; of a dangerous ambuscade, which must have been attended with certain death, when they were alone, and seemingly out of danger; and by virtue of the impulse, they immediately darted off, and, with extreme difficulty, escaped the crafty, pursuing enemy."⁷⁵ At the present time it is not thought that spiritual experiences are enjoyed by any except those who take the higher courses of training already spoken of, most of whom are doctors. It may be that the persons who gave the above information to Adair belonged to that class, or it may be that personal manitous were more widely enjoyed in primitive times than later became usual, but of this last there is no proof. Even in the cases of the graduates the power acquired through their training no longer appears to be associated with supernatural guardian spirits. Such, however, was evidently the case in former days.

The fear of ghosts expressed in the quotation from Adair given above was marked and has persisted down to our own times. Certain diseases, to be considered presently, are attributed to dead bodies. Anciently, when an Indian passed a graveyard, in order to drive away the ghosts he would take a little ginseng (*hîlis hâtki*) into his mouth, chew it, and spit it out on each side alternately until he had spit four times each way. People would not eat cold food that had been kept overnight for fear the ghosts had partaken of it. Sometimes encounters with ghosts were fatal. Thus there is a Texas-Alabama story about a man who went out to hunt raccoons and on the way was joined by a ghost under the guise of a person well known to him. By and by they saw a raccoon run up a tree, and the ghost climbed up and threw it down. Presently they came to a tree where there was another raccoon, and this time the man climbed up. After he had gotten up 30 feet or so the ghost shouted, "Look at me." The

⁷⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 36.⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

• 775 man looked and discovered the nature of his companion. Then he began to climb down and when he was nearly to the ground took off his moccasins and threw them, one in one direction and one in another. The ghost, however, ran after the moccasins, picked them up, and then pursued the man, whom he threw down and killed.

Speaking of the site of old Okmulgee, Adair says that the Indians "strenuously aver, that when necessity forces them to encamp there, they always hear, at the dawn of the morning, the usual noise of Indians singing their joyful religious notes, and dancing, as if going down to the river to purify themselves, and then returning to the old town-house: with a great deal more to the same effect."⁷⁶ Adair adds that they attributed his own inability to hear such things to the fact that he was "an obdurate infidel that way."⁷⁷

Says Pope:

"The Creeks in approaching the Frontiers of Georgia, always encamp on the right hand side of the Road or Path, assigning the left, as ominous, to the *Larvæ* or Ghosts of their departed Heroes who have either unfortunately lost their scalps, or remain unburied. The Ghost of an Hero in either Predicament, is refused Admittance into the Mansions of Bliss, and sentenced to take up its invisible and darksome Abode, in the dreary Caverns of the Wilderness; until the Indignity shall be retaliated on the Enemy, by some of his surviving Friends."⁷⁸

Pope's authority is not the best, but this certainly establishes the fact that the Creeks had the same belief as the Chickasaw regarding the necessity of placating spirits of the slain.

761 Adair is probably correct in attributing fatalistic beliefs to the southern Indians as to the time when each man's life was to come to an end. He says that they had a common proverb "*Neetak Intahāh* [Ni'tak intaha], 'The days appointed, or allowed him, were finished' [the days finished for him]. And this is their firm belief; for they affirm, that there is a fixt time, and place, when, and where, every one must die, without any possibility of averting it. They frequently say, 'Such a one was weighed on the path, and made to be light.'"⁷⁹

[581] He also says that many believed marriages to be equally fated.⁸⁰

775 We learn from Adair, in places already quoted, that the Chickasaw discharged guns and whooped in order to drive the ghost of a dead man to his fixed abode, but that it was believed that if he had been slain in war his soul would haunt the eaves of the house until equal blood had been shed for him.⁸¹ All accounts agree that after the soul had been induced to leave the neighborhood of his living relatives he traveled westward, passed under the sky and proceeded

⁷⁶ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 36.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷⁸ Pope, *Tour*, pp. 63-64.

⁷⁹ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁸¹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 310.

upward upon it to the land of The One Above or the Breath Holder. The name "spirits' road" given to the milky way shows that this was regarded as the trail upon which they went.

The Alabama "land of the blest" was also above. Eakins says: "They say their paradise, or happy hunting-grounds, is above; but where, they have no definite idea."⁸² Bossu obtained a longer if not a more accurate statement, without, however, any localization of the realms of the hereafter:

"I have asked them what they thought of the other world, and they have answered that if they have not taken away any other man's wife, if they have not committed theft, nor killed anyone during their lives, they will go after death into an extremely fertile country, where they will lack neither women nor good grounds for hunting, which will become very easy for them; that if on the other hand they have done foolish things, if they have made fun of the Great Spirit, they will go after death into a sterile country full of thorns and brambles, where there will be neither hunting nor women; this is all I have been able to learn concerning the belief of these people regarding the other life."⁸³

According to the living Alabama, who perhaps preserve the ancient conception in the best form, the souls had to encounter several dangers on this journey. First they came to a body of water, but this divided to right and left at their approach. Next they reached a place where were great numbers of serpents. These they passed safely by wrapping *bāksha* branches about their bodies so that the fangs of the reptiles could not reach them. Finally they came to a place where a battle was in progress, but they avoided this by blowing out tobacco smoke which rendered them invisible. Still another danger to be encountered, in just what order with reference to the others I do not know, was a great eagle, and that this might be fought off a large "butcher knife" was buried with the body of the deceased. From the extent to which property was buried with the dead it is evident that this was also supposed to accompany them into the hereafter. According to my Alabama informants the ghost remains near its body for four days. Adair is our only early authority for the expected ultimate return of souls to earth,⁸⁴ but there appears to be no good reason to doubt that such an idea prevailed with certain Indians, and he is confirmed by the Chickasaw interviewed on Schoolcraft's behalf during the middle of last century. "They believe," he says, "that the spirits of all the Chickasaws will go back to Mississippi, and join the spirits of those that have died there; and then all the spirits will return to the west before the world is destroyed by fire."⁸⁵

⁸² Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 1, p. 273.

⁸³ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. 2, pp. 48-49.

⁸⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 178, 182, 397.

⁸⁵ Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 310.

775 Bartram and Swan both testify to Creek belief in a future state of existence. The former says:

"They believe in a future state, where the spirit exists, which they call the world of spirits, where they enjoy different degrees of tranquility or comfort, agreeably to their life spent here: a person who in his life has been an industrious hunter, provided well for his family, an intrepid and active warrior, just, upright, and done all the good he could, will, they say, in the world of spirits, live in a warm, pleasant country, where are expansive, green, flowery savannas and high forests, watered with rivers of pure waters, replenished with deer, and every species of game; a serene, unclouded and peaceful sky; in short, where there is fulness of pleasure, uninterrupted."⁸⁶

Says Swan:

"They believe there is a state of future existence, and that according to the tenor of their lives, they shall hereafter be rewarded with the privilege of hunting in the realm of the Master of Breath, or of becoming Seminoles in the regions of the old sorcerer.

"But as it is very difficult for them to draw any parallel between virtue and vice, they are most of them flattered with the expectation of hereafter becoming great war leaders, or swift hunters in the beloved country of the great Hesakkdum Esee."⁸⁷

He adds elsewhere that the land of the good was "some distant, unknown region, where game is plenty, and goods are very cheap; where corn grows all the year round, and the springs of pure water are never dried up," while the other is "a great ways off, in some dismal swamp, which is full of galling briars," and that there is no game or bear's oil in all that country.⁸⁸

In reply to the queries of Hawkins, Ifa hadjo, the great Medal chief of Tukabahchee, and speaker for the Creek Nation in the national council, affirmed that his people believed that "the spirit (po-yau-ficpchau [poya-fiktca]) goes the way the sun goes, to the west, and there joins its family and friends, who went before it." He also affirmed "that those who behaved well, are taken under the care of E-sau-ge-tuh Emis-see and assisted; and that those who have behaved ill, are left there to shift for themselves; and that there is no other punishment."⁸⁹

Upon the whole, it is rather likely that native belief postulated the alternative that some of the souls of the dead, necessarily the bad ones, would not get past the great eagle and the other dangers to be encountered on the way to the land of souls and would remain in the realm of ghosts and other evil spirits in the west, but the reward of the good hereafter was identified for the most part with

⁸⁶ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 496.

⁸⁷ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 270.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

⁸⁹ Hawkins, *Sketch*, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 80.

their reward here, positions of esteem in the tribe, plenty to eat and wear, and plenty of enemies to kill, for the Creek social system rewarded so well in this world virtue of the kind these Indians recognized that it was not necessary to postpone all enjoyment of it to an uncertain hereafter.*

Bartram adds that according to native belief not merely man but every living creature had a spirit or soul that could exist apart from the body and that some had reported that "a pattern or spiritual likeness of everything living, as well as inanimate, exists in another world."¹ This, of course, is true of practically all primitive peoples, the only question being whether the term "other world" may be properly applied here.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Dreams and visions seen in trances were one means of learning about the spirit world, and they were very generally credited. Bartram says: "They relate abundance of stories of men that have been dead or thought dead for many hours and days, who have revived again, giving an account of their transit to and from the world of souls, and describing the condition and situation of the place and spirits residing there."² A curious expression was used by the Creeks when they were about to go to bed. They would say *Posalkán hoboyálánás*, "I am going to hunt a dream." If a man made a noise like an animal in his sleep those who heard him would say "that is his sleep (or dream) [*inuteká*, his sleep; *imboiteka* or *imposálga*, his dream]. If any person in a family dreamed of fire it foreboded sickness, especially bilious fever, and all of them took *miko hoyanídja* and afterwards dipped in the creek four times. If they happened to have no medicine they at least bathed.

When a person sneezed it was supposed that someone was saying something good about him, and he would remark "Oh yes, that is what they always say about me." There is a jesting relation regarding a man who began sneezing and kept repeating the above words, while he was really coming down with pneumonia. Next day, when his friends were asked about him, they said: "Yes, some one was saying something good about him yesterday, and now we are afraid we are going to lose him."

According to a Natchez informant, sneezing when eating meant that one would hear of a death; also that someone was talking about him. If one sneezed when he had pneumonia it was a sign he would get well.

When it began to rain after a dry spell the old Creeks would not take things in under cover too hurriedly lest the rain should stop.

* For some further light on this subject see the section on burial customs, pp. 308-309 in the preceding paper.

¹ Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 27.

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776 SPIRITS AND GODS--conception of supernatural beings of a higher order than disembodied souls; indications of their genetic relationship to ghosts; prevalent types of supernatural beings (e.g., guardian and familiar spirits, tutelary divinities, tribal gods, nature spirits and gods, angels, animal and totemic divinities, fairies and sprites, demons, mythical monsters, deified heroes and saints, divine tricksters, occupational or functional deities, creator gods, rulers of the spirit world, high god or supreme being); attributes of individual deities and of categories of divine beings (e.g., name, sex, form, character, powers, functions, symbols); hierarchical arrangement (e.g., polytheistic pantheon, dualism, henotheism, monotheism); etc. See also:

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icent and are said by Adair to have been called by the Chickasaw "Hottuk Iahtohoollo" (Háták ishtë holo, holy great men) or "Nana Iahtohoollo" (Nana ishtë holo, holy great persons). With them he contrasts the "Hottuk ookproose (Háták okpulosi), or "Nana ookproose (Nana okpulosi)," "very bad men," or "very bad people," who, he says, were supposed to inhabit the dark regions of the west." While Adair and other writers were likely to have interpreted Indian beliefs in the light of Christian teachings I believe this statement to be in the main correct. Swan mentions a good and bad region to which the souls of the dead go, and he says that a good spirit was over the one and an evil spirit—*isti fátcaigo*, "person not good"—over the other." This has a still stronger appearance of Christian influence, and, as I do not find the bad ruling spirit spoken of again by other writers, it may be doubted whether there was such a conception:

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Unlike the case of the bad spirit, a great good spirit ruling in the world above is mentioned by all early writers yet it is a question whether this was a native conception or not; the ease with which this spirit could be identified with the Christian deity and the fact that it was so identified in later times render the aboriginal character of the entire conception somewhat doubtful. The older Creeks assert that the name by which this being is now generally known, *Hisagita imisi*—now abbreviated to *Hisagita misi*—"the breath holder," is not the original term, but came in use after contact with white people. In explanation of the name it should be said that when an official was sent out in charge of a body of men at the time of the busk he was called an *imisi*, or "holder," because he held the body of men together. According to one informant the old name for God was *Puyáfikta lakát*, "the great spirit," but this man was a Baptist preacher and I believe the idea originated with the white people. Jackson Lewis, one of my best native informants, said that he recollected very well when the old people instead of calling the deity *Isagita imisi* used the term *Ibofánaga* (or *Ibofána*), which means "the one above us." Nevertheless, as we find the name *Hisagita imisi* used by Adair¹ and all those of his contemporaries who enter deeply into the subject of Creek religion, we must assume that it is at least as ancient as the other term. What Lewis had in mind is probably indicated by another statement of his that in order not to use the term "Master of Breath," which was a very sacred name, directly, people often spoke of "the ones over and above us." The plural form in use here

¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Ind.*, p. 26.

² Schöndorff, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. 7, pp. 265-270; Hitchcock (*Obs. notes*) reports a similar belief.

³ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

776 suggests that originally the Creeks may have intended by the expression and the ceremonies directed toward the sky all of the spirits in the world above collectively. But, while there is probably some truth in this view, it seems pretty clear from the statements of early writers and mention of the "One Above" by the Chitimacha, Atakapa, and most of the other southeastern peoples, that they recognized a chief among these. Such a being was undoubtedly believed in by the Natchez, for their entire social system revolved about him, and there is every reason to think it was a prevailing southern belief. Bossu says that the Alabama called their supreme deity "Soulbiéche,"²⁰ a word probably derived from *solopi*, "ghost," or "spirit," and *ésa*, or *isa*, "to live," to "dwell."

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821 Adair gives the Chickasaw name of the supreme deity as "Loak-Iahto-hoollo-Aba" [Luak Ishto Holo Aba], which appears to signify "the great holy fire above," and indicates his connection with the sun. Adair adds that he "resides as they think above the clouds, and on earth also with unpolluted people. He is with them the sole author of warmth, light, and of all animal and vegetable life."²¹ His name at once suggests the Uwa' shíl ("Big fire") of the Natchez, which was their name for the sun, the highest object of their worship, or rather the abode of that highest object, and a connection between the Chickasaw and Natchez conceptions is thereby indicated. As to the regard in which the sun was held among the Creeks, Bartram says: "At the treaties they first puff or blow the smoke from the great pipe or calumet towards that luminary; they look up towards it with great reverence and earnestness when they confirm their talks or speeches in council, as a witness of their contracts; and also when they make their martial harangues and speeches at the head of their armies, when setting out, or making the onset, etc."²² The idea involved, however, was probably much broader than that of the mere visible sun, because the latter was not considered a particularly imposing object. Adair says: "The American Indians do not believe the Sun to be any bigger than it appears to the naked eye. . . . Conversing with the Chikkasah archi-magus, or high-priest, about the luminary, he told me, 'It might possibly be as broad and round as his winter-house; but he thought it could not well exceed it.'"²³ Compare, also, the statement of their beliefs which some Chickasaw are reported to have given to John Wesley: "We believe there are four Beloved Things above; the Clouds, the Sun, the clear Sky, and He that lives in the clear sky."²⁴

Little else remains regarding the attributes of this deity which has not been entirely obscured by European beliefs. To show how far such beliefs had worked into the native conception, I will cite the

²⁰ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 48.

²¹ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²² Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 26.

²³ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁴ Jones, *Hist. of Savannah*, p. 63.

following stories regarding the "Breath Holder" which were related to one of my oldest informants, a man born in Alabama before the migration to Oklahoma, by a very old Hitchiti Indian. This man said that a child was born in a certain country and a time came in the history of those people when children were to be killed. Rather than lose their child its parents put it into a basket, pitched it with gum, and set it afloat upon the water. Afterwards it was seen by the king, who told an attendant to bring it in, and he did so. Fascinated by its beauty he adopted it and reared it. One day after he grew up this child was walking along and saw a man planting seed. He asked him what it was and the man answered "I am planting stones." Later he went to this place again, dug into the earth, and found a great many stones there. Another time when he met this man the latter had some white corn flour. He threw a handful of this into the air and it turned into white water herons found along streams, the feathers of which were used in the Creek peace dance. The old man said that the man who did this was Christ and added that "a darn Frenchman came along and killed him." The myth of seed turning into stones is recorded in various versions by Dähnhardt, in his *Natursagen*, vol. II, p. 95, under the heading *Die Verwandlung des Saatfeld*. The other is a well-known episode in apocryphal church history. The first part of the narrative is of course taken from the story of Moaes.

One further point regarding this spirit deserves notice, as it is certainly not European in origin, and that is his connection, in the minds of the Indians, with the sacred fire as several times mentioned by Adair. In one place he says, "they worship God, in a smoke and cloud, believing him to reside above the clouds, and in the element of the, supposed, holy annual fire."²² Further on he goes into this more at length, as follows:

"Though they believe the upper heavens to be inhabited by *Iahto-hoollo* *Aba*, and a great multitude of inferior good spirits; yet they are firmly persuaded that the divine omnipresent Spirit of fire and light resides on the earth, in their annual sacred fire while it is unpolluted; and that he kindly accepts their lawful offerings, if their own conduct is agreeable to the old divine law, which was delivered to their forefathers."²³

Again, he quotes a Chickasaw seer to the effect that "he very well knew, the giver of virtue to nature resided on earth in the unpolluted holy fire, and likewise above the clouds and the sun, in the shape of a fine fiery substance, attended by a great many beloved people."²⁴ Adair backs these statements up with the following incident, which is of more importance than his bare assertion, and especially in this connection, as it is from the Creeks instead of the Chickasaw:

²² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 33.²³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

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"In the year 1748, when I⁴ was at the Koosah on my way to the Chickasah country, I had a conversation on this subject, with several of the more intelligent of the Muskohge traders. One of them told me, that just before, while he and several others were drinking spirituous liquors with the Indians, one of the warriors having drank to excess, reeled into the fire, and burned himself very much. He roared, foamed, and spoke the worst things against God, that their language could express. He upbraided him with ingratitude, for having treated him so barbarously in return for his religious offerings, affirming he had always sacrificed to him the first young buck he killed in the new year; as in a constant manner he offered him when at home, some of the fattest of the meat, even when he was at short allowance, on purpose that he might shine upon him as a kind God. And he added, 'now you have proved as an evil spirit, by biting me so severely who was your constant devotee, and are a kind God to those accursed nothings [i. e., the white people], who are laughing at you as a rogue, and at me as a fool, I assure you, I shall renounce you from this time forward, and instead of making you look merry with fat meat, you shall appear sad with water, for spoiling the old beloved speech. I am a beloved warrior, and consequently I scorn to lie; you shall therefore immediately fly up above the clouds, . . .'"²⁵

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In still another place he says: "The Muskogee call the fire their grandfather—and the supreme Father of mankind Esakata-Emishe 'the breath master,' as it is commonly explained."²⁶ Fire is called "grandfather" to the present day.²⁷

After describing the method of deadening trees and clearing fields among the southern Indians, Adair goes on thus:

"With these trees they always kept up their annual holy fire; and they reckon it unlawful, and productive of many temporal evils, to extinguish even the culinary fire with water. In the time of a storm, when I have done it, the kindly women were in pain for me, through fear of the ill consequences attending so criminal an act. I never saw them to damp the fire, only when they hung up a brand in the appointed place, with a twisted grape-vine, as a threatening symbol of torture and death to the enemy; or when their kinsman dies. In the last case, a father or brother of the deceased, takes a firebrand, and brandishing it two or three times round his head, with lamenting words, he with his right hand dips it into the water, and lets it sink down."²⁸

All of the facts brought out must mean that an actual connection was supposed to exist between the sun and the buak fire and thus between the celestial deity behind the sun and this fire, and, as Adair himself points out elsewhere, that the renewal of the fire was an actual renewed presence of the deity among them, the old fire having

²⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 116.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

²⁷ Cf. Bartram in *Trans. Am. Eth. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 26.

²⁸ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

± [i.e., Adair. -- Analyst]

become polluted by long separation from its source.²² It is unfortunate that we have no further information on this important point.

Swan, the only writer who has much to say of a great evil spirit, remarks that "they have an opinion that droughts, floods, and famines, and their miscarriages in war, are produced by the agency of the bad spirit. But of these things, they appear to have confused and irregular ideas, and some sceptical opinions."²³ I have already expressed doubts about the primitive character of the bad spirit but it is possible that a kind of dualism based on the opposing activities of the good and bad spirits collectively may have grown up.

Yahola and Hayū'ya were two important male deities supposed to reside together in the air without any other companionship. When novices were being instructed regarding the sacred medical formulæ and other mysteries in a way to be described presently the teacher sang songs in which the names of these two beings were mentioned very often. From the general drift of these songs it would appear that the two beings were perfect, clean, undefiled, and were in this manner implored to act as guardians and good geniuses of the pupils. To Jackson Lewis, to whom I am indebted for all of this important information, these beings seemed to endow one with strength, physical activity, and clearness of vision and thought. Yahola was also sometimes appealed to in sickness. If a person was shot and appeared to be dying some ginseng would be cut up and placed in a cup of water and a song sung over it containing the name of Yahola and appealing to his aid in this great emergency. Then the drink would be administered to the sufferer and by doing so it was thought that his life could be prolonged until a more thorough treatment could be undertaken. Also in cases of difficult childbirth the doctor would make medicine and over it utter an appeal to Yahola. "And," concluded Lewis, "this is the real Yahola, though you will find persons so named who do not know what the word means." This word was, in fact, employed in numerous war titles, and a cry called "the Yahola cry" and supposed to resemble the call of the deity himself, was uttered when black drink was taken, and on some other occasions during the annual busk. The name Hayū'ya gives us a clue to the four "Hi-you-yul-gee" from the four corners of the world who brought fire to the ancestors of the Creeks.

The being who produced thunder and lightning is identified by Adair with the supreme deity, for in one place he calls the latter "Ishtohoollo Aba Eloa" (the big holy one above who thunders).²⁴ He tries to represent what he conceives to be the native idea when he says that the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure

²² Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 166, 167.

²³ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 270.

²⁴ Adair, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

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821 "belonged only to the great beloved thundering chieftain, who dwells far above the clouds, in the new year's unpolluted holy fire."³⁵ We are here reminded of a doctor encountered by Pope, who spoke of "the great God of Thunder and Lightning and of Rain."³⁶ The real native idea seems to be set forth, however, in the following quotation:

"The Indians call the lightning and thunder, *Eloha* [Hiloha, is thunder] and its rumbling noise, *Rowah*, . . . and the Indians believe . . . that *Minggo Ishto Eloha Alkaisto*, 'the great chieftain of the thunder, is very cross, or angry when it thunders' and I have heard them say, when it rained, thundered, and blew sharp, for a considerable time, that the beloved, or holy people, were at war above the clouds. And they believe that the war at such times, is moderate, or hot, in proportion to the noise and violence of the storm.

"I have seen them in these storms, fire off their guns, point toward the sky; some in contempt of heaven, and others through religion—the former, to shew that they were warriors, and not afraid to die in any shape; much less afraid of that threatening troublesome noise and the latter, because their hearts directed them to assist *Ishtohgollo Eloha*."³⁷

Here it is said that the cause of the thunder and lightning was warfare between many celestial beings, not the prerogative of a single one.

Jackson Lewis stated that it used to be said that the thunder was a person who possessed missiles (If, the word employed here, may mean an arrow, a bullet, a sting, or a thunderbolt) and would dart them out toward the earth with great noise. There is also, they said, a long snake that rises out of the water and can produce the same kinds of noises as the thunder man, but the noises of the former are accompanied by blue lightning and are without a bolt. These two sometimes amuse each other, the thunder man making noises and throwing his bolts down while the thunder snake thunders back and shows the blue lightning. The snake is sometimes in the ground or under a rock out of sight when this happens, and the thunder man throws his bolts into the trees or rocks near by. It has been thought by some that the thunder man kills the snake with his bolts. Lewis claimed to have seen thunderbolts (*tinitki inti*) which looked like crystals, or at least had similar facets. Sometimes they are found where a tree has been shivered by lightning and sometimes in the water, but if one puts his hand into the water to get them the hand will become paralyzed. They are of the colors red, yellow, white, and blue,³⁸ and thus seem to resemble the *sabia* to be described presently, but they were not identified with these.

³⁵ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 92.

³⁶ Pope, *Tour*, p. 60.

³⁷ Adair, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

³⁸ In one place I have noted the colors as "blue, black, red, and white."

It is interesting to compare with this the notes on the subject by Tuggle, written at a much earlier period:

"The Muskogee say of lightning that a little man rides a yellow horse, and when he shoots his arrows, it thunders. Sometimes he shoots at a tree.

"When lightning—'Ah-tee-ya-hal-tee' (Atoyahati)—strikes a tree and slightly injures it, some say this is caused by the terrapin. When the tree is torn to pieces, this is caused by the big noise (thunder)."

Tuggle recorded the following regarding the wind:

"The Wind was very destructive. The people wanted him to go away.

"The Wind said: 'I am going away to the other end of the world. I will sometimes send some of my servants back to visit you. Some will be soft and gentle, some will be rough and loud. When the end comes, the last day, I will come with great power and will sweep all to one place from the four corners of the earth.'

"So the Wind went away."

Reference to the earth as an island has already been quoted. Further light on the native conception of it may be gained from the several creation stories, which are in fact stories of how the present order of things was instituted out of a previous order of things of an analogous nature. I have been told that there was once a long myth of this kind, most of which has been lost. The following fragments will, however, present the native idea in general outlines very well. The creation story and the flood story are so mingled that it will be well to include both.

The agent Eakins, who obtained most of his information from an Alabama Indian, says on this point:

"They believe that before the Creation there existed a great body of water. Two pigeons were sent forth in search of land, and found excrements of the earth-worm; but on going forth the second time, they procured a blade of grass, after which, the waters subsided, and the land appeared."²⁹

Speck secured the following myth from a Tuskegee medicine maker:

"The time was, in the beginning, when the earth was overflowed with water. There was no earth, no beast of the earth, no human being. They held a council to know which would be best, to have some land or to have all water. When the council had met, some said, 'Let us have land, so that we can get food,' because they would starve to death. But others said, 'Let us have all water,' because they wanted it that way.

"So they appointed Eagle as chief. He was told to decide one way or another. Then he decided. He decided for land. So they

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²⁹ Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 286.

This last story and the one obtained by Doctor Speck are interesting because they combine the peculiar Southeastern tale in which a bird brings the first land with the well-known quest for earth beneath the waters, a story found over the whole of the eastern part of North America.

According to the idea of the southern Indians, something of the supernatural attached to every created thing, every animal, plant, stone, stick, body of water, geographical feature, and even to objects which man himself had made. While these things did, indeed, have certain characteristic appearances and activities which were "natural"—that is, the things normally expected from them—they owed these to a certain impression made upon them in the beginning of things, or at least at some time in the distant past, and it was not to be assumed that they were all the powers which such beings and objects—or, assuming the Indian point of view, we might say simply beings—possessed. The expected might give way at any moment to the unexpected. In such cases the thing itself might exert power in its own right or it might be a medium of power from another being. It might manifest this power at one particular time to one particular person, it might have the faculty of exerting its power constantly, or its power might be brought out from it by the observance of certain regulations. In such cases the response might be an infallible result of performing the regulations, or the charm might be capable of exercising a modicum of volition.

An ability to talk on occasion was attributed to animals. Once a prophet heard an owl and a dog talking to each other. The owl said, "People must be afraid of me." The dog answered, "No, but if there is a big stick lying across the road they will be afraid of that." "Would they be afraid of a bush?" inquired the owl. "They would not be afraid of that; they would go around it." "But would they not be afraid if I should get on top of the bush?" "If you do it, they will kill you." They disputed about this for some time and at last the owl perched on a bush in the middle of the road to try and scare passers-by, but in vain.

The beings most important in the lives of the Indians or those which, for any reason, were most conspicuous were of course the ones which attracted the most regard from them, were oftenest referred to in their stories, and were made the occasion of something approaching a cult. Still this statement needs modification, since some of their conceptions were the result of evolution, and can not be said to have been due to any apparently greater significance of the objects or creatures in the lives of the present-day Indians. It is even uncertain that they ever were of cardinal significance; some chance association, or the influence of foreign peoples, may have given them

776 their superior position. It should be added that some of the beings by which they believed themselves to be surrounded were purely imaginary. Their attitude toward these was theoretically the same as that toward the common creatures, but as they were not of everyday experience, the supposed encounters with them were of course always believed to have supernatural significance.

825 According to both the early writers and the present day Indians, in ancient times the Indians would not willingly kill a wolf or a rattlesnake. I was told that not many stories were related about the former because it was considered the friend of the red men and they were afraid it would injure them.

Not many stories were told about snakes for fear of receiving injury, and Bartram says that the Indians whom he met would not willingly kill any sort of snake, believing that if they did so the spirit of the snake would excite or influence his living kindred or relatives to revenge the injury done to him when alive.⁴ Upon one occasion he killed a rattlesnake that had driven some Seminole from their camp, whereupon several of them came to him and performed a kind of ceremonial dry scratching upon him. This was evidently in order to make the relatives of the snake believe that the injury had been atoned for.^{4b} Adair records that misfortune was predicted by a Chickasaw doctor because he (Adair) had killed one of these reptiles.^{4b}

A great deal was made of "masters of waters," water creatures such as the beaver, otter, and water snake. They are often associated together in the linking of clans. When I was in Oklahoma during a very dry season, which had been preceded by two or three very dry seasons, some of the Indians said that this was due to the fact that since the coming of the whites the masters of waters, who anciently protected the earth from dryness, had lost control.

776 Just as we find on the north Pacific coast and elsewhere that the
825 supernatural beings live when at home like men on earth, we hear in
539 Creek stories of animal towns scattered about like those of the
Indians, each with its square ground, though of course there are
always supernatural accompaniments, and curious features reminding
one of the animals which live there. The following story gives an
experience with the under water people.

A man who was at some distance from his town fasting in order to obtain medicine was once out after wood, and saw a man up the creek from him, whom he presently met and conversed with. When he got back, he picked up his kettle and started after water, but, on reaching the branch, he threw his kettle into it. Then he stripped off

⁴ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 261, note.

^{4b} *Ibid.*, pp. 258-261.

⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 272-273.

his shirt and dived under water after it. Two little snakes then took hold of him and guided him along, making a way for him so that he could breathe exactly as if he were on land. By and by they came to a place like a Creek square ground, but the beds were all made of snakes plaited together, and there was a big turtle in front for a footstool. Then the old snakes said "Why did you bring that person here?" But as long as they had done so, the old people told him to sit down. When he tried to step on the turtle, however, it raised up, and it did this three times. The fourth time it stopped and he stepped on its back. When he was about to sit down the snakes began crawling, but at the fourth attempt they also stopped and he seated himself. Then they asked him if he wanted a feather which was fixed in the roof above his head, and he said "Yes," but, when he tried to seize it, it flew up out of reach. At the fourth attempt he got it. Again they said to him, "Do you want that hatchet?" "Maybe I do," he answered. This also rose out of his reach three times and the fourth time he got it. "If you are a man," they said, "let us see you strike off the head of that turtle." So he got off of the turtle's back, aimed a blow at its neck, and, zip! off flew its head while its blood spattered round about. "This will do for you," they said, and they gave him all sorts of instructions as to how he could visit them. From that time on he went back to see them frequently, but presently he began violating their instructions, and they in turn began to dash water on him, so that at last he could not reach them. The man's name was "Horned" (Yābi odjá). He used to dive under water and return about noon with a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark. There was a whirlpool under some rocks in the South Canadian below the standing rock near the mouth of the North Canadian, and there he said he saw some creatures that looked like dogs and he thought that they might be dangerous, but he said that they did him no harm. One day, however, he got drunk and was found dead on the bluff just above that place.

Another boy, a grandson of the preceding, was able to stay under water so long that his companions thought he was drowned. But one time he saw something that scared him, and afterward he remained on shore. He said that the place to which he went was like an open space. It was thought that his grandfather must have taught him how to stay under water, as he would come out in the same way carrying a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark.

My informant affirms that these are true stories, and that an old Indian named Judge Nokosi with whom he was acquainted knew "Horned" personally. "Horned" was a Tukabahchee; the grandson, a Łaplako.

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825 The origin of the conception of this snake is without doubt to be
778 found in the tracks made by lightning, and the bones supposed to
have been left by one of them might well have been those of some
animal exposed at the time of a thundershower.

The horned snake was probably held in highest esteem by the
Indians on account of the value placed upon its horns as hunting
charms. The following account of it is mainly from Jackson Lewis.

This snake lives in water and has horns like the stag. It is not a
bad snake. It crawls out and suns itself near its hole, and on one
occasion Lewis claimed to have seen such a snake. It does not
harm human beings but seems to have a magnetic power over game.
If any game animal, such as a deer, comes near the place where this
snake is lying it is drawn irresistibly into the water and destroyed.
It eats only the ends of the noses of the animals which it has killed.
The old Creeks sometimes got hold of the horns of this snake, and
they were broken up into very minute fragments and distributed
among the hunters of the Creek Nation. These fragments are red
and look like red-sealing wax. A Creek hunter is always exceedingly
anxious to obtain even the most minute fragment of such a horn,
because it is said to give luck and success in hunting and killing deer.
"I myself," said Lewis, "have at two times in my life owned a small
fragment of one of these horns, and as you yourself know [speaking
to Mr. G. W. Grayson] I have always been looked upon as a great
deer killer." These snakes are very rarely seen.

The Alabama living in Texas also know of this snake, which
they call *teinto sakteo*, "crawfish (i. e. long-horned) snake." They say
they are of four kinds according as their horns are yellow, white, red,
or blue.

825 Tuggle makes mention of another snake described as living under
ground. "It is never seen, but it emerges sometimes from the
ground, with a great noise, and leaves a large hole in the earth
where it came out. It is called the Celestial One, or Good Snake."⁴
This snake is probably identical with that described by Jackson
Lewis, a most remarkable snake, since it consists principally of head
and lacks a body. It lives on the dew from the grass and leaves.
It swirls round and round in the air and goes upward until it dis-
appears, from which fact it would seem to typify the whirlwind.

776 Jackson Lewis told me of a certain set of supernatural beings
825 residing in the waters and therefore called "the inhabitants of the
waters." One of these was the horned snake already mentioned. A
second was "the long snake," which coils itself up round and round to
a height of perhaps 3 feet. This is perhaps identical with the snake
which produces thunder. Another was "the great yellow snake,"
which is under the ground ordinarily but also burrows its way into

⁴ Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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to Adair all of the Indian nations with which he was familiar considered the raven impure, yet had a kind of superstitious regard for it.⁵¹ Crow feathers were among the war feathers of the Creeks.

Among the Texas Alabama the hoot owl (o'pa) informed prophets when a death or some other misfortune was about to take place. A man who was fond of joking and a prophet were once out hunting when one of these birds flew near and hooted. The former then asked the prophet in a jesting way if he knew what the owl said, and the prophet answered, "He said another man is going with your wife." Upon this the jester cut 12 long sticks, went home, found that the prophet had spoken truly, and beat the guilty pair in accordance with native custom. My informant seemed to think that in cases of death the owl was the man's soul, but this is doubtful. Another prophetic bird was a small red-headed woodpecker having speckled wings which makes a noise resembling bicici, and is hence called in Alabama bicici'hka. When the nephew of one of my informants died, the wife of the former was away in a river bottom. While she was there and before the news had reached her she saw one of these birds flying about. Adair tells us that on one occasion he observed the Indians "to be intimidated at the voice of a small uncommon bird, when it perched, and chirped on a tree over their war camp."⁵² This may have been one of the birds above mentioned or a third of similar character.

Dogs are sometimes fabled to have helped men and there are stories which represent them as living in towns with square grounds like those of human beings. It is said that upon one occasion a boy found a deserted house in which was a bitch with a litter of puppies. He took care of them, and when the pups grew up they went out and drove bear up to him so that he could shoot them with arrows. The skunk is once referred to as "chief of all the animals."^{53a}

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As stated in the beginning, supernatural power of some sort was believed to attach to all animals and plants, and to natural objects generally, even to artificial objects, and when we come to discuss Creek medicine a great deal more will be said about their various powers, because each is supposed to have been able to produce certain diseases.

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Some mythic supernatural beings have already been mentioned, but there were a number of others, many of which caused sickness. Among these were a race of little people, called by Tuggle "fairies."⁵³ They lived in hollow trees, on tree tops, in the holes in the rocks, and in other similar places. They were strong and handsome, with fine figures, and sometimes they allowed themselves to be seen by a human being, who then talked about them continually

⁵¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 131, 173, 194.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

^{53a} See p. 529.

⁵³ Tuggle, *Ms.*, *Bur. Amer. Ethn.*

and followed wherever they led, into forests, swamps, etc. Sometimes the victim died in these desolate spots, but at others he came to his senses and got back home. The mental disease which they thus induced seems to have been a kind of temporary insanity. They rather bewildered the victim, then put him permanently out of his head. One man told me he had been led astray twice by these beings; they conducted him across a river in this state, and he was never able to explain how he got there. This was a favorite trick of the little people.

Once, when the father of one of my Natchez informants was out hunting, and could get nothing, he heard little people calling to him. He could not see them until he looked down near the ground. They wore caps and some had bows and arrows. They directed him to a place where medicine was to be found and to a place where there was game, so he followed their directions. First he found a little stone cup filled with medicine which he drank, and then he went on and killed a deer.

There were also giants whose eyes opened vertically instead of horizontally. They treated human beings in the same way as the little people. The Choctaw and Chickasaw have the same beliefs regarding giants and dwarfs as have the Creeks.

There is supposed to be an animal called *hátcko-tcápko*—"long ears." It is about the size of a mule, has immense ears, and a very hideous appearance generally. It has a disagreeable odor and causes a dangerous disease, but fortunately it is rarely seen. There are two varieties of this animal, one of a brown color nearly black, the other of a slate color.

Another creature is called *nokos oma*, "like a bear." It is of about the size of an ordinary black bear, but it always carries its head near the earth. It has immense tusks which cross each other and when seen it is going along a trail with the gait of a pacer. More often, however, only the noise made by the males is heard, and this sounds something like "*káp káp káp káp*."

The *hátcko fáski*, "sharp ears," seem to go in pairs and never travel east or west but always north or south. They are observed especially near the sources of small streams. They have sharp noses, bushy tails, and globular feet.

There are some animals, usually pied in color, which look like big steers. They are called *wak oma*, "like a cow." Several travel together and they move in single file and alternately. One moves on for a certain distance and stops and then moves on again. The one behind moves up to the place which the first had occupied, stops, and moves on again in the same manner.

There is an animal called *lohka* which sometimes appears in the shape of a cat, sometimes as a chicken.

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There is also a bird called so'datcá'kalá which never looks toward the earth but always straight up into the sky. It makes a noise like a woodpecker, and my informant thought he had heard it at times in the dead hours of the night far up in the air.

Another bird is like a woodpecker but much larger. It lives in pine forests, but the old doctors when they made medicine, and had occasion to refer to it, sang of it as if it originated in the skies. These two last may be real creatures, the former the "sun gazer," the latter a woodpecker.

There was said to be a little deer about 2 feet high and either speckled like a fawn or white, but it differed from a fawn in having very lofty horns. This is called "the chief deer." My informant claimed to have killed one of these.

The water king deer (Wiofó'te miko) is mentioned as causing certain diseases, and Speck's informant attributed others to the "sky-hog" and the "wolf-in-the-water."

There is also mention of the "spirit of war," which appears to have been in human shape.

Besides the above, in the doctoring formulæ and in the myths we hear of a cat-like creature called isti-papa, "man-eater." This is usually identified with the "lion," while the panther is commonly referred to as a "tiger." It is possible that the conception may have come in after white contact, but on the other hand it might preserve a memory of the jaguar which anciently came as far north as the Brazos River and probably to the Mississippi. The Alabama identify the "man-eater" (Ala. atipa-teoba) with the elephant, of which they had of course no knowledge until late times.

Alabama Indians also told of certain beings with penises so long that they reached high up into the trees; they were in the habit of striking the trees with these and the noise resulting could be heard for long distances.

The monsters of Muskogean legend frequently trail their intended victims by means of a roller which is spoken of as if it were endowed with a conscious or semiconscious life of its own. It is described in one place as about 3 inches in diameter and the idea of it is evidently derived from the roller formerly used in the chunky game.^{21a}

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Among these objects, which are rather means of securing supernatural help than active helpers themselves, the sabja were the most important, and they are said to be known to all of the Five Civilized Tribes. I have heard of them personally among the Creeks, Alabama, and Natchez. They were very small objects looking like crystals and when properly treated would bring the possessor success in any

^{21a} See p. 486 in the preceding paper.

778 in the families of the town, destructive wind storms, and various other sinister phenomena would occur. So, when one was asked why they did not take the plates out and wash and brighten them up as was the early practice, the answer came promptly, 'Because there is none competent.' They must neither be handled nor touched by water lest great evils result. Moreover, they seem to speak of them with care and caution, closely bordering on fear, lest some evil befall them as a punishment for having spoken too freely of such sacred objects."

But some of these plates are now reported to be broken and parts lost, which is not to be wondered at, as for a long time they were kept in a box back of the miko's bed, along with the atasa carried by the women, exposed to any inquisitive passer-by not overblessed with scruples. In 1914, however, they were still held in the greatest esteem and fear by the leading Tukabahchee. -The chief of the town at that time said he could never handle them without becoming sick, and when I drew outlines of the plates from my memory of Adair's figures he recommended that I tear them up and throw them away or ill would certainly befall me before I got home. The continued handling is supposed to drive one crazy. If some of these are brass, as stated by Adair and conceded by subsequent writers who have had a chance to examine the plates, the European origin of at least a portion of them is assured, and it is plainly indicated also by the letters, if they have been correctly copied. Barent Dubois, mentioned above in the quotation from Pickett, who is said by him to have "long lived among the Tookabatchas," believed that these plates owed their origin to De Soto and his companions.⁷¹ There can be little reasonable doubt that they are of Spanish origin, but, as the Shawnee and "Kaskinampos"⁷² were trading at St. Augustine in the latter part of the seventeenth century it is equally possible that they were obtained there at that period. They share with certain objects among the Plains tribes in a veneration bestowed upon European articles when they first made their appearance, and which they would certainly have failed to elicit at a later time after that familiarity had developed that "breeds contempt."

THE FATE OF SOULS

775 According to Adair the good spirits of the world above attend and
776 favor the virtuous while the bad spirits in the west accompany and have power over the vicious,⁷³ but this probably gives a somewhat distorted view of the actual native belief. It is probable that the good spirits of which he speaks included most of those who became human helpers, whether in the sky or in other parts of the universe,

⁷¹ Pickett, *Hist. Ala.*, p. 84. ⁷² See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 214. ⁷³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 34.

while the bad spirits were the ghosts of the dead, or at any rate spirits associated with the western world through which the soul first passed. This is suggested by what he states immediately afterwards. "On which account, when any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [i. e., the evil spirits of the west]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed places, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise."¹⁴ The good spirits could be attached to individuals somewhat like the personal manitous of the Algonkian tribes. This is also made evident in the case of the Chickasaw by Adair, who says: "Several warriors have told me, that their *Nana Ishtohoollo*, 'concomitant holy spirits,' or angels, have forewarned them, as by intuition; of a dangerous ambuscade, which must have been attended with certain death, when they were alone, and seemingly out of danger; and by virtue of the impulse, they immediately darted off, and, with extreme difficulty, escaped the crafty, pursuing enemy."¹⁵ At the present time it is not thought that spiritual experiences are enjoyed by any except those who take the higher courses of training already spoken of, most of whom are doctors. It may be that the persons who gave the above information to Adair belonged to that class, or it may be that personal manitous were more widely enjoyed in primitive times than later became usual, but of this last there is no proof. Even in the cases of the graduates the power acquired through their training no longer appears to be associated with supernatural guardian spirits. Such, however, was evidently the case in former days.

The fear of ghosts expressed in the quotation from Adair given above was marked and has persisted down to our own times. Certain diseases, to be considered presently, are attributed to dead bodies. Anciently, when an Indian passed a graveyard, in order to drive away the ghosts he would take a little ginseng (*hiliis hãtki*) into his mouth, chew it, and spit it out on each side alternately until he had spit four times each way. People would not eat cold food that had been kept overnight for fear the ghosts had partaken of it. Sometimes encounters with ghosts were fatal. Thus there is a Texas-Alabama story about a man who went out to hunt raccoons and on the way was joined by a ghost under the guise of a person well known to him. By and by they saw a raccoon run up a tree, and the ghost climbed up and threw it down. Presently they came to a tree where there was another raccoon, and this time the man climbed up. After he had gotten up 30 feet or so the ghost shouted, "Look at me." The

¹⁴ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 38.¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

182 of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is
771 every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some
796 of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an
attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the
being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well
defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe.
Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

771 The universe with which the Creeks sought reconciliation was not,
776 however, a material one. What they had in mind was rather the
mind or minds believed to be operant there. While we know of some
supernatural beings connected primarily with the busk and numerous
spirits associated with natural objects were anciently believed in,
it seems fairly certain that the peculiar patron of the ceremony was
a solar, or rather celestial, being generally called Hisagita-immisi,
“the breath controller,” and also Ibofanga, “the one above,” and
that the busk fire was in some way an earthly representation of the
great solar fire overhead. While it is probable that Hisagita-immisi was

[177] not in ancient times the monotheistic deity he has now become, there
is every reason to think he was already, before White contact, the
supreme being of the Creeks.